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IN * DEFENSE
OF
THE AMERICAN
PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

THREE DISCOURSES PREACHED IN THE UNITARIAN CHURCH OF OAKLAND, CAL.,

BY

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- I.—The American Doctrine of State and Church.
 - II.—The Roman Catholic Church and the Public Schools.
 - III.—Parochial and State Schools Contrasted.
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PREFACE.

The three discourses herewith presented are reprinted without revision from the *Oakland Enquirer*, in which paper they appeared in full the day after delivery in the Unitarian pulpit. They were called forth by a series of attacks upon the Public School System by various Roman Catholic clergymen and journals in California during the past few months. I have tried to be fair-minded, courteous in tone and accurate in my statements. I regret that I am not able to print with my own discourses those of my opponents. Their general tenor will be gleaned from the quotations I have made from them, which are interded to be just and to present the essential and salient points in their argument.

Persons desiring to more thoroughly inform themselves on the issues involved are referred to the following works, to which among others I acknowledge my indebtedness:

1. Religion and the State, by Samuel T. Spear, D. D.
2. Romanism vs. the Public School System, by Daniel Dorchester, D. D.
3. The Vatican Decrees, by Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. (Schaff's edition.)
4. A Letter in reply to Mr. Gladstone, by John Henry Newman, D. D.
5. Cardinal Manning and the Public Schools, (article in *Forum*, April, 1889) by Professor G. P. Fisher.
6. Protestantism or Roman Catholicism, a reply to Bishop Gilmour, by Rev. T. A. Forbush, (Unitarian) Cleveland, 1873.
7. The Roman Catholic Church and the School Question, by Edwin D. Mead, Boston, 1888.
8. Manual of American Ideas, by Caspar T. Hopkins, San Francisco.

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DISCOURSE I.

THE AMERICAN DOCTRINE OF STATE AND CHURCH.

Under the foregoing title Rev. Charles W. Wendte delivered before the Unitarian Society Sunday, August 18, 1889, the first of a series of three discourses in reply to recent attacks by Roman Catholic ecclesiastics on the American Secular State and its public school system. In introducing his topic the speaker said that both as a liberal Protestant and an American he felt it his duty to defend the basic principles of the republic in its relation with religion and the church. Father Gleeson's recent address at the dedication of St. Mary's College while he believed it to be unjust and uncalled for, was yet dispassionate and impersonal in tone. He would endeavor to be equally observant of the courtesies of honorable discussion, and in all seek not to win partisan applause but to ascertain and advance the truth.

Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things which are God's.—Matthew xxii: 21.

There are two institutions in human society whose adjustment of their mutual relations has been the source of more agitation and strife than any other known in history. They are the Church and the State. The story of European civilization for the past eighteen centuries is largely a record of the struggle between the religious and the political interests. In this New World we are exceptionally and fortunately circumstanced in this respect. Our society is comparatively free from the traditions and thralldoms of the past, while the great preponderance of Protestants among us secures a substantial unity of sentiment. This unity is broken only by the open or covert attacks made upon our American system of Church and State by its avowed enemies, and the unreasonable and unjust demands made by unenlightened Protestants upon the National Government for a special recognition of their religious views in the constitution and laws of the land.

It is to show that the true interests of both religion and politics are best subserved by the separation of these two great institutions and the complete secularization of the State, that I proceed to inquire: "What are the relations which should exist be-

tween the Church and the State, and in how far does our American system fulfill them?"

THE THEOCRACY.

In theory there are three principal relations which can exist between the civil and the ecclesiastical interest.

The first is that of the supremacy of the church and the subordination of the State. This is called theocracy. The classical example for it is the system of the Papacy and the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church. Since the time of Gregory VII, the Catholic Church has taught that there can be no sovereign political authority, nor any independence for the individual, beyond the limits fixed by the ecclesiastical power.

The State has indeed a qualified independence within its sphere, but what that sphere is, is determined by the church, which thus becomes the ultimate authority in all questions of civil and political import. To quote the language of an American Roman Catholic, Bishop Gilmour: "The State is for the body, the church is for the soul. But the soul is superior to the body; hence, the church is above the State." This reasoning is supported by appeals to the Scriptures, to tradition and to other recognized sources of religious authority. The church having thus the divine right to rule, it follows that its head, the Pope, is the sovereign of the world, and all civil governments must submit to his dictation.

Such, in substance, is the Roman Catholic, or theocratic doctrine of church and State, whose culmination and glorification we behold in the dogma of Papal infallibility, which fitly crowns the edifice of priestly pretension. True, in common practice, the church has often modified her demands. She has been compelled by the logic of necessity to recognize and treat with civil governments as equals. In the many earthly dilemmas in which the Catholic Church has found herself, she has, from motives of self-preservation, held her extreme theories somewhat in abeyance, and accepted the situation. But the doctrine of papal supremacy was not

surrendered thereby. It was only suspended and kept in reserve to be again advanced at a more favorable opportunity. Thus the present Pope Leo XIII, in his encyclical of June 20, 1888, declares: "Although in the extraordinary condition of these times the church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she prefers them in themselves but because she judges it expedient to permit them, in better times she would use her own liberty." We can readily imagine what this means—that if the Catholic hierarchy ever obtained control of our national life, they would in accordance with their well-known and freely-expressed principles put an end to free speech, a free press, free schools, a free church and a free government. Are we not warranted in believing this? Recent Popes have denounced by name these essential institutions of our nation, calling them "the liberty of perdition," "impious, absurd and erroneous doctrines," "detestable sentiments pregnant with the most deplorable evils, of all others most to be dreaded in a state." Indeed Pope Leo XIII, in the encyclical already quoted from, emphatically condemns the supposed right of a man to choose his own religion and calls it "a degradation of liberty," and Pope Pius IX in his allocution to a consistory of cardinals, September, 1851, said: "We have taken this principle for basis, that the Catholic religion with all its rights ought to be exclusively dominant, in such sort that every other worship shall be banished and interdicted."

It would be easy to heap up similar declarations of purpose from the minor clergy and Catholic press. Thus the eminent theologian, Dr. Brownson, in his *Catholic Review* affirmed that "Protestantism of every form has not and never can have any right where Catholicity is triumphant."

It is only a few years since that Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland laid down in a pastoral letter to his diocese the Catholic philosophy of government in the following words: "Nationalities must be made subordinate to religion. We must learn that we are Catholics first and citizens next. Catholicism teaches that God is above man, the church is above the State." This is certainly explicit and emphatic enough. So Cardinal Newman in his famous controversy with Mr. Gladstone, maintained that the British ministers should have gone to Rome to ascertain the civil duties of a British Catholic subject, and that "no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party." Apply this principle to our American political life, and it means simply this—that no Roman Catholic citizen can rightly take an oath of allegiance without the consent of Rome, or, in other words, that Rome is a higher authority in American affairs than the republic itself.

Some may imagine that this Theocratic doctrine of church and State has had its day, and is not likely to reappear again as a force in modern society. But our own generation has seen it developed to a speculative, extreme in the dogma of Papal infallibility, a dogma which the church did not dare to proclaim at the height of her power in medieval ages. In that extraordinary document, "The Evangelical and Syllabus" of the late Pius the Ninth, nearly all the achievements which form the

glory of modern society, free schools, a free science, a free press, liberty of conscience and of religious worship, are indicted by name and condemned with the anathemas of the church, and mankind is enjoined under penalty of all the terrors and disabilities at the command of the Roman See to bend in penitence at the foot-stool of St. Peter.

ARE CATHOLICS PATRIOTIC?

In all that has been said thus far in my discourse I have brought no charge against the loyalty of the Catholic element in our midst. I am simply showing that in its philosophy and principles, as they are laid down in its highest competent authorities, the church of Rome upholds the theocratic doctrine of the supremacy of the church over the State. This doctrine, as I shall show in what is to follow, is diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles and working methods of the American Republic. If logically carried out would lead to the overthrow of our present system of secular government and the loss of our civil and religious liberties.

Is this then the conscious aim of the Roman Catholic portion of our population? Do they desire to destroy our American liberties? I cannot believe it. I believe to the contrary, that the vast majority of our Roman Catholic neighbors are good citizens, are loyal and patriotic Americans. Their conversation and daily walk prove this; their votes in general prove it; their conduct during the civil war amply proved it. We must remember that the logic of a man's speculative belief is one thing, but the logic of one's daily duty, the dictates of good sense and justice, of humanity and honor are another thing, and are more imperative than all the Vatican decrees, or priestly fulminations on record. Says my friend Edwin D. Mead, with whose splendid defense of our American public schools at the Nashville school convention the country is still ringing: "If all the men who hold the Calvinistic creed—total depravity, predestination, and the eternal damnation of the majority—which are the nominal and standard doctrines of half the churches belonging to the evangelical alliance—should begin to live out their proposed beliefs with inexorable logic, this country would soon be a worse place to live in than it is ever likely to become as the result of the Roman Catholic doctrine about Church and State. But, as a matter of fact, almost no Calvinist does or did hold those doctrines in their naked and logical severity." So it is with our Catholic elements. "Let America," he tells us, "once really be in any danger from any Catholic power, and every healthy Catholic among us would rush to the recruiting office, snapping his fingers at every papal benediction and every papal anathema that could be read to him. The Catholic to-day has a great respect for the Pope in his place, but if from now on he ventures to meddle unpleasantly with politics, he will be told very sharply, as Ireland only recently told him, to attend to his own proper offices." A bigoted Protestant minister in Boston recently affirmed that if a Catholic priest had suddenly appeared in the way before General Sheridan as he rode to redeem the day at Winchester, and waving a crucifix had

ordered him to turn back, General Sheridan, as a loyal Catholic, would have been compelled to obey. But I will tell you what Sheridan would have done—he would have indignantly consigned that priest to a certain hot place they both believed in, and had he persisted would have ridden over him, as in patriotic ardor he rushed on to answer his country's call and lead her battalions to victory! Afterwards he might have found time and felt constrained to confess his sin and do penance for it.

With the views of Mr. Mead I am heartily at one. Despite what Protestant zealots may say, the American Catholic is a loyal and patriotic citizen.

Nor do I think it probable that in a thinking age and a free land like ours, the Roman Catholic theory of government will ever again become the basis for a new society. Intelligent and liberty-loving America is not likely to adopt the political system which monarch and priest-ridden Europe is so universally rejecting.

But, though it have little creative power left, this renaissance of the theocracy among us may still exert a very disturbing influence on the life of our young nation, as its expiring throes are doing in the old world to-day.

All Europe—Germany, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium—is to-day the scene of internal conflicts whose principal cause is the death-struggle of the clergy against the advancing thought, free science, secular education and democratic spirit—in short, the higher civilization of our age. So it is, and will continue to be, in this country, in proportion to the amount of power wielded by the Catholic clergy and the influence of Rome upon their councils. Left to themselves, the Catholic population and minor clergy are patriotic and peaceful.

It would be possible to quote many noble declarations of love of country and the American States, from their writings. They have, for the most part, too recently escaped from the domination of poverty and tyranny in foreign lands not to be grateful to a republic which receives them so hospitably and grants them such large liberty and opportunity. Their priesthood has an additional reason for appreciating this country since the very freedom of worship and church establishment which they deny to non-Catholics abroad, wherever they have the power, they find to be in the United States most conducive to their own ecclesiastical growth. Now it is characteristic of the Roman clergy always to avail themselves of their immediate opportunity, no matter how it may contradict the logic of their principles. Thus Louis Veuillot, editor of the Catholic journal *L'Univers* and leader of the Ultramontane party in the French parliament, on being reproached for inconsistency, coolly replied to the radical majority: "When we were in power we denied you free speech and action on the basis of our principles. But now that you are in power we demand this freedom from you on the basis of *your* principles." So long therefore as our political institutions favor the Catholic church, as they do at present, its clergy will uphold them. But whenever and wherever they are opposed to its interests, temporal or spiritual, the church will

denounce and oppose them. The *Catholic World* (September, 1871) says of the American Government, if interpreted by the secular or non-Catholic principle: "We do not accept or hold it to be any government at all, or capable of performing any of the proper functions of government. If the American Government is to be sustained and preserved at all it must be by the rejection of the principle of the Reformation and the acceptance of the Catholic principles."

We have just learned from high Catholic authorities what this latter principle is, and can appreciate what it portends for our country, when the same review (July, 1870) declares: "The Roman Catholic is to wield his vote for the purpose of securing Catholic ascendancy in this country."

Are we not justified in affirming, therefore, that so long as such views of religion and politics are maintained by the Catholic Church, so long as this church swears allegiance and yields supreme obedience to a foreign potentate, holding its immense property and revenues subject to his orders, so long as ultra-montane and Jesuit influences suppress the liberal, progressive and American elements among her clergy, the theocratic principle is capable of exercising a vast disturbing influence in American politics and American social life.

The Catholic population is indeed loyal and patriotic, but it is also impulsive, simple-minded and devout, and easily massed and led by astute ecclesiastics and unscrupulous politicians. Let us not be deceived. Great struggles are before us in American political life. I believe that in all supreme issues the Catholic laity will decide according to reason and humanity and country, *unless they are warped and tampered with in early youth*. But it behooves us to be vigilant; upholding ever the true principles of the American State against the assaults of all enemies, foreign or domestic.

A UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

I pass now to consider briefly a second legal relation which may exist between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers, namely, a union of Church and State under one head. This was, with modification, the old Puritan system of New England, and was also dominant in Virginia and other States. Prior to 1833 Massachusetts made every citizen taxable for the support of the Protestant church establishment, whether he believed in it or not. But everywhere now in this country the State has separated itself from the Church, that each might secure the highest perfection for itself. The most perfect example now existing of this system we find in Russia where the Emperor is also the spiritual head of the Greek Church. In a modified form this theory underlies the established or State Church of England, and in a still more modified form, the Privileged Evangelical Church of Germany, whose head, the Emperor, governs through a council or synod whose members he himself appoints. I cannot dwell on this system at present; nor is it necessary, for it is already on the wane, and may be considered as only an intermediate step between the theocracy of Rome and that entire separation of the Church from the State which is the characteristic doctrine of our American republic.

THE AMERICAN THEORY.

Let us examine the American theory more closely. The State may I define as social man organized for the purpose of civil government. The Church is social man organized for worship and religious nurture. Thus, in theory, each of the great agencies has its own peculiar functions and is assigned a distinct sphere for their exercise. Each is to respect the other's right and not to interfere with the other's operations. This is the theoretical, the ideal conception of the relations between Church and State, and this is generally conceded to be the American doctrine on this subject.

But this is a very partial view of their mutual relations and by no means the one which actually obtains in American society. There cannot be any such entire separation and yet co-existence of these two powers. In their practical working Church and State constantly interfere with each other, and it is often very difficult to say what is the sphere of each. For example, the Church represents the spiritual interest, but she has temporal possessions which bring her within the laws and ordinances of the State. To be sure, the Church strenuously denies that the State has any right to interfere with her property arrangements, no matter how they affect the welfare of the community. This is what the Roman Catholic Church says to-day to the American State, as she heaps up millions on millions of property, usually exempt from taxation, held absolutely by one person, the Bishop, and by him only as the representative of a foreign ruler; thus forming a continuous and dangerous monopoly in our midst. The American State may sooner or later have to interfere to regulate this great and growing evil, as the governments of Europe have had to regulate it, but the moment she attempts to do so the cry of the church will be "hands off; you are transcending your sphere." The question then arises, who is to determine what is the respective sphere of the church and the State? "The church," answer our Catholic friends. But then, on this supposition the church might accomplish any end, no matter how worldly or injurious to the community, by simply declaring it to be a spiritual necessity, and the State would be compelled to submit. Thus the Second National Council of the Roman Catholic Church at Baltimore, in 1866, declared that "in prescribing anything contrary to the divine law" (i. e. as interpreted by the Hierarchy) "the civil power transcends its authority, and has no claim on the obedience of the citizen." Now our American principle of self government teaches us to the contrary, and tells us that the church must not only be separated from the State, but also in all temporal concerns must be subordinated to it.

Based upon the idea of the sovereign power of the people, the State, as the expression of that sovereignty, is the highest competent authority in American life. It follows, then, that the State cannot allow another power along side of it vested with superior or even equal right, and absolutely independent of its authority. The State is the supreme power in the land, and whatever disobeys its laws and so opposes the public interest

and will, must give way. To be sure, the State allows its citizens a large measure of individual liberty. It grants certain definite privileges to the family, and to other associations of men, for specific purposes; but only so far as these do not oppose the public will and welfare. So the Church also enjoys a certain independence in administering her temporal affairs, but whenever she oversteps the limits of her freedom and acts against the general good, or does anything to abridge the civil rights of the members of her own communion, then the State has a right to interfere and make her superior authority felt. On the other hand, in the sphere of purely speculative and spiritual interests, the Church is sovereign and absolutely free. Here the State confesses its limitations and leaves the spiritual prerogatives of the Church unchallenged and unquestioned.

This, then is the true American doctrine — *in spiritual concerns the absolute independence of the Church, in temporal affairs the subordination of the Church to the State.*

NOT "THE CHURCH," BUT CHURCHES.

Another leading and characteristic feature of the American system remains to be spoken of. Our American State does not know the church, or a church even, but only churches. In most European countries, side by side with the government, there is usually an established church, whose institutions are closely interwoven with the thought and life of the people. This being the case, the government cannot but recognize her claims, and make the best possible terms with her. But in these United States it is far different. We have no one established church, but only a multitude of scattered sects of greater or less pretension. The Roman Church is only a rival sect among the rest. These churches hold widely divergent views; each thinks itself right and the others wrong; each claims to be the church. No one among them is sufficiently powerful to overshadow the others. As a matter of simple justice and necessity, therefore, the American State must recognize no one church, but only churches. Presbyterian and Unitarian, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Christian, the Mormon in Utah or Buddhist in San Francisco, all are recognized alike, and receive the same impartial treatment. The State does not investigate, it does not decide on all these conflicting claims to divine truth and right, it does not discriminate for or against any of them. It does not even know them in their religious character, but only in their private and corporate capacity. Their spiritual or traditional origin it has nothing to do with. It deals with them just as it would deal with a college, a benevolent society, a railroad corporation or a bank. They exist under its laws, receive its protection and are subject to its conditions. With their internal administration the State will have nothing to do. It permits them to make such regulations for their own government as they please, be these Papal or Episcopal or Congregational in form. Concerning this, it does not inquire; it only demands, *first*, that the churches shall not by overstepping their own canon laws abridge the ecclesiastical rights of their members; *second*, that no church shall enforce decrees which affect the civil

rights of the citizen; and, *third*, that the teaching and practice of any church shall not contravene the laws of natural morality and injuriously affect the public order and welfare.

But, until they do thus conflict with her laws, the State leaves them in peace to work out their own salvation. Says Rev. T. B. Forbush, in his admirable discussion of this subject: "In the eye of the State, the churches are organizations for specific ends. Their statutes or charter defines those ends. Beyond dealing justly with them and insisting that they shall deal justly with one another, she has no obligation and should assume none."

Such is the general understanding in American society concerning the relation between the civil and the ecclesiastical power. Under this system we have enjoyed a degree of political and religious liberty such as no other country on earth can boast, and which has made us, in large degree, the prosperous and powerful nation that we are. Under it, religion itself has increased, both in the purity of its contents and the scope of its influence. There is more vital religion in America to-day than in any other country under the sun; and this is chiefly owing to the benign influence of that secular state, which it is the fashion among a certain kind of believers to denounce as "godless" and profane.

The enlightened faith and political sagacity of the fathers of the republic, and our fortunate exemption from the traditions and thraldoms of the past, which still retard our Old World neighbors, have made possible this improved relation between church and State on American soil. To maintain this system, and hand it down unimpaired to posterity, should be our chief concern as citizens and as Christians.

THE SECULARIZATION OF THE STATE.

Now there still exist among us certain antiquated laws and customs which directly conflict with the American idea of secular government, relics of the former union of church and State in America. These laws antagonize the fundamental principles and are harmful to the higher interests of our national life. We should seek to free ourselves from them as soon as possible, that our practices may more closely conform to our doctrines, and no opportunity for cavil be given the opponents of our system of government. I take it there is a general desire among us to do this. The only opposition to it comes from twosources; first from the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, whose theories and aims have just been considered, and secondly from their coadjutors—those misguided Protestants who insist that the State shall in its organic law and general legislation recognize their particular beliefs and doctrines.

It is a strange and saddening spectacle to behold free and Protestant believers, who owe the religious rights they have mainly to the American principle "a free church in a free State," antagonizing and endangering that idea by their mistaken zeal for the religious and churchly interest. Such are they who demand that the State should forsake its broad, tolerant and purely secular position and specially recognize and favor the Christian religion. By this they

mean, of course, Protestant Christianity and the evangelical form of Protestantism. And they, equally with those who identify all true religion with the Catholic church, denounce our present government as irreligious and "Godless."

To all such objectors the all sufficient answer is that this is a purely secular government and has nothing to say about Christianity or religion, or what does or does not constitute these. "The people of the United States" adopted and are ruled by a constitution which deals only with temporal concerns. It pretends to no divine right, except so far as "the voice of the people is the voice of God." "The consent of the governed" is the source of its authority. This country has never even professed to be a Christian nation as Father Gleason, supposes. The spirit of the Christian religion, and Jewish and Christian traditions pervade its national councils and decrees, but it has carefully abstained from any official utterance on this point. It has no religious tests for office. An Atheist is just as eligible as the devoutest Catholic.

Christianity is the prevailing sentiment, but it is not, as some unwisely affirm, "a part of the common law" of this country. It would be easy to cite the utterances of statesmen and jurists like Wharton, Cooley, Story, Sedgewick and others, to prove this. The fathers of the republic were for the most part not what is technically known as Christians, particularly not Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and Thomas Paine. They were not atheists; they were however deeply religious men: yet they deliberately drew up a constitution which by design excludes all religious ends and ideas. In 1796, soon after the constitution had been adopted, Washington and his cabinet negotiated, and the senate approved, a treaty with the Sultan of Tripoli which begins with the affirmation: "The government of the United States is in no sense founded on the Christian religion."

This was not intended to disparage Christianity. It did not prove that the nation was Godless. It simply affirmed the truth, that this is a secular government and does not meddle with the religious beliefs of its citizens, be they Atheists, Buddhists, Jews or Christians.

The fathers wrought wisely. Be it ours to uphold and complete their work. For every consideration of political wisdom, every teaching of experience assures us that a secularized State is the only form of civil polity adapted to the welfare of our complex nationality.

THE CHRISTIAN AMENDMENT.

Much to be deplored, therefore is the attempt now being made to introduce the name of God, if not a formal recognition of Christianity, into our national and state constitutions. You are aware that there exists an association of more or less prominent citizens for this very purpose. Only recently their accredited agent was on a tour of visitation among the various constitutional conventions in the States newly created in the Northwest, urging the law makers to insert into the instruments they were framing some such proviso as the following:

"Acknowledging Almighty God as the

source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler among nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority, in order to constitute a Christian government—"and then follow the more strictly civil provisions of the document. I do not hear that he has met with any particular success in his mission. The movement for incorporating this amendment into our national constitution has equally failed thus far, and it ought to fail. For surely the addition of these pious phrases would not make our nation more Christian, if public and private sentiment be not in accordance with them. The Southern Confederacy placed a similar clause into their articles of federation; but, while their republic was based on human slavery, what was it but a solemn mockery? The true way for this people to show its Christianity is not to write its dogmas in their constitution, but to exhibit its virtues in their public and private conduct. Remember, too, that such an acknowledgment of God and Christ and Bible would amount to nothing—would be a mere dead letter—unless made vital by a definition of what is meant by these terms. That would necessarily be the next step. There is not a statement, a sentence, a word in our constitution that is not subject to interpretation and made an authority in our civil and political life. But the moment you thus define the new amendment, you recognize some explicit form of religion in the United States, and commit a great injustice upon your fellow citizens who do not share that form of belief. For who is to decide what is the correct interpretation? The majority of course. Now this majority is to-day an orthodox Protestant one, and will be for a long time to come. But to give such a definition of the amendment would be to violate the consciences of the Catholic, the Jew, the Unitarian and a vast number of religious liberals and free-thinkers. They would not be slow to resist such an invasion of their personal rights, and thus this seemingly harmless Christian amendment has in it the seeds of social strife, religious war, and a possible disruption of the republic. What blindness, what madness then possesses the Protestant advocates of such an amendment! Honest they no doubt are, but grievously unwise. If the proposed amendment should pass Congress by the requisite two-thirds majority, and receive a three-fourths vote in three-fourths of all the States, as is required—a contingency not likely to occur in the present temper of the American people—it would prove the most dangerous weapon against the Protestant religion that could be put into the hands of its opponents. The only practical benefits would accrue to the Roman Catholic Church, as the strongest ecclesiastical body. That church would not fail to make application of it which would cause these over-zealous Protestants to look with affright at the consequences of their action.

THE BIBLE IN THE SCHOOLS.

Another demand put forth by the Protestant opponents of the American doctrine of State and Church is for the retention of the Bible and public worship in the public schools. I need not dwell at any length on this special topic. Everything that could

be said pro and contra upon it has been uttered over and over again. If, however, my premises are right, it follows as a matter of course that the Bible as a religious book is out of place in a civil institution like the public school. A sufficient reason for its exclusion is to be found in the fact that the public reading of the Bible is a *liturgical* act, as much so in the public schools as in the public services of religion; it is read because, as the apostle says, it is "given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

Now we have no right to introduce religious acts into a secular and State institution supported by a tax levied indiscriminately on all. It is against both our national and most of our State constitutions to do this. In repeating prayers, singing hymns and reading the Bible in the public schools, and especially the Protestant version of the Bible, you are encouraging the Roman Catholic demand for a division of the public school funds and justifying parochial and private schools for the education of youth. Both justice and policy therefore should lead to the withdrawal of the Bible from the public schools. In Oakland I believe this has been done in every school, but in the country districts where Roman Catholics are fewer and the Protestant ministers more influential, this violation of law and conscience is still permitted. In a community like ours, in which there is so much diversity of religious opinion, and in which all are taxed indiscriminately for the support of the common schools, the only system of public education possible, I shall hope to show in my next discourse, is a purely secular one, from which all religious acts are excluded.

TAXATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

Another notable demand made by the upholders of the superior and divine right of the Church is for the continued exemption of all church property from taxation. This is not only wrong to the other interests of the community which have to make up the deficiency, but also directly encourages both the sectarian rivalry and the luxury and ostentation of the churches, which are such serious obstacles to the progress of a true Christianity. I have in my mind at this moment a splendid and luxurious Protestant temple in one of our great cities, the property of a few rich men, which they use but a few hours each week, and from which poor people are practically excluded. The rest of the time it is given over to silence and emptiness—handsome to look at, but otherwise as useless a piece of property as can be found in the whole city. Its cost was perhaps a third of a million of dollars, and if justly taxed, as it ought to be, it would place in the city treasury some five thousand dollars, or enough to furnish the suffering poor of that city with coal during the most severe winter months. Now, why should these wealthy gentlemen be exempt for their private luxury in worshipping God, when the poor mechanic or laborer who happens to own the roof over his head must come forward promptly and pay his tax upon it—a tax larger because of this exemption of church property? In that very city I once knew a

priest to purchase quite a tract of land, build a small church and parsonage upon it and then secure its exemption from taxes. A few years later he sold his real estate at a large advance and built a costly church in another district with the proceeds. Is it right for the State to encourage and be a partner in clerical real estate speculations? Consider, too, how rapidly church property is increasing in this country. In New York State it amounted in 1875 to \$117,597,151, and has vastly increased since that time. In New York City the single corporation of Trinity Church owns twenty or thirty millions worth of property. According to the census of 1850, the amount of property that was held by the different religious denominations in the United States was \$87,000,000. In 1860—only ten years after—it had doubled and was returned at \$171,000,000. In 1870 it had again doubled, amounting to \$354,000,000. I have not seen the figures for 1880, but if this rate of increase be kept up till the end of the present century only, it would reach the enormous sum of \$2,835,000,000. Will not our government soon have to take steps to restrict and regulate this dangerous monopoly? a monopoly more threatening to our future peace as a nation than any other which afflicts us. Now the best restriction upon it is to equitably tax all church property, and in view of its enormous wealth the demand of the church for a continued exemption seems singularly immodest and unfair. The only just way is for churches to bear their fair share of public taxation. In the Roman Catholic parish church at Monterey I read a complaint, affixed to the wall, that California was the only State in the world that taxed its churches. But I say—all honor to California for pointing the other states the way they must inevitably follow, and all honor again to the young Unitarian Society in Tacoma, which last month sent in a petition to the Constitutional Convention of the new State of Washington, praying that all churches be equitably taxed. What

“equitably” means in this connection we may learn from the fact that in San Francisco, where the church property is valued at over \$5,000,000, the assessment upon it is only \$1,769,915.

CONCLUSION.

To the other demands made by an unwise Protestantism, I can only refer by name. Such are the religious tests for holding office, and for jurors and witnesses, still found in the statute books of some of the States, or which discriminate for or against the church; the legal recognition of Sunday, not from motives of natural morality and civil expediency, but because of its supposed supernatural institution. We have listened during the two past weeks in Oakland to the representative of a society whose object is to secure additional Sabbath legislation and the observance of Sunday as a religious institution. But the American State knows no such religious sanction for the Sunday, and has no power to enforce it. Its only purpose in framing Sunday laws is to secure a regularly recurring day of rest, and to protect those who religiously observe the day from the annoyance and distraction which might otherwise exist. This secular view of Sabbath legislation in this country is the one expounded by our courts and expressed in the statutes themselves.

All these reforms will receive their righteous disposal when the mind and conscience of the nation are fully controlled by the sentiment of the secularized State. These changes must all be made gradually and peacefully. We have no autocrat among us. Public sentiment must first be educated to the proper degree, and then it will express itself at the polls. Education, reason, justice, humanity, to these we appeal, and we are confident that ours shall at last be the victory.

The four pillars which uphold our American Secular State are Free Speech, Free Schools, a Free Ballot and a Free Church. Maintain these in their integrity and we need have no fear for the peace, security and perpetuity of our National life.



DISCOURSE II.

The Roman Catholic Church

AND

The Public Schools.

The following is the sermon preached Sunday morning, August 25th, 1889, in the First Unitarian Church, by Rev. C. W. Wendte:

In last Sunday's discourse I treated of the American as opposed to the Roman Catholic doctrine of church and state. I sought to show that ours is a purely secular form of government, and has nothing to do with specifically religious or church interests, except so far as the latter involve property arrangements or are brought by their temporalities within the laws and ordinances of the State.

This separation of state and church in America involves furthermore, as I hope to show in this discourse, the separation of the church and the public schools, and that the latter should be made purely secular institutions.

The system of free secular schools is a fundamental principle in our political life. It is not, however, the method of popular education which formerly prevailed in this country, and is not yet understood and accepted by our people as universally as it ought to be. A brief sketch of its history will therefore be in order.

Previous to the American revolution church and state were generally united in this country. In Massachusetts every citizen was taxable for the support of the Protestant Church establishment, whether he believed in it or not. The public school was founded, not by "an infidel lectures, Miss Fanny Wright," as Father Gleeson affirms, but by the Puritan Fathers soon after their arrival on these shores. In 1642 they passed their first enactment on this subject and took upon themselves the charge of the education of the people. These schools were supported by a general tax and were under the supervision of the clergy. As late as 1826 there was no such thing known in Massachusetts as a school committee or board of education. The resident clergyman, whose salary was in part at least, paid by the State, performed all the duties now divided among directors, superintendents and truancy officers. Religious exercises, though of a very simple

character, formed part of the course of instruction.

The war of the revolution changed all this. A new nation, free from Old World traditions and tyrannies was created on American soil. A republican form of government was instituted and a secular constitution adopted. The union of church and state, hitherto existing in a modified form, came to an end. Every door was opened wide, and we invited to our shores all nations, races, tongues and religions. The Roman Catholic, the Quaker, the Jew, the free thinker were all, under our broad charter of freedom, accorded equal political, educational and religious rights, and every measure of individual liberty compatible with the existence and integrity of the republic itself. The result has been a vast influx of foreigners, whose social customs and religious opinions largely differ from those heretofore ascendant in American society.

This has rendered necessary a gradual modification of our educational system, and especially required a readjustment of the relation of our schools to religion. With that singular justice and tolerance which are so characteristic of Americans, these changes have generally been made in deference to the conscientious scruples of these new elements in the body politic, and in accordance with the spirit of republican institutions. Religious exercises have gradually been eliminated from the public schools, and they have been placed on a secular basis. The only opposition to this has come from unenlightened Protestants, and especially from bigoted Protestant ministers, who do not realize that in a community like ours, in which there is so much diversity of religious opinion, and in which all are taxed indiscriminately for the support of the public schools, the only system of public education possible is a purely secular one, from which all religious acts are excluded. Hence these misguided Protestants, with mistaken zeal for their creed, still strive to retain religious worship, and especially Bible reading in the common schools; not so much because they think ten minutes a day devoted to a thoughtless

repetition of random Bible verses is likely to religiously influence the children in our schools, as because the Bible—"the religion of Protestants" as we often hear it called—is a "flag" and stands for the supremacy of Protestantism in the community.

ROMAN CATHOLIC ANTAGONISM.

Such intolerance in some degree justifies that organized revolt of the Roman Catholic element of our population against the public schools, which began some forty years ago under the leadership of their clergy, and has continued to increase in extent and intensity up to the present hour. Before this clerical interference, the Roman Catholic population among us gladly availed themselves of the opportunities which our American public schools offered them for educating their children, and found but little fault with the existing methods of instruction. Catholic priests were on pleasant terms with the school authorities, and Catholics served as members of school boards and as teachers. About the year 1850, however, a marked change took place in their attitude, and the Catholic priesthood, especially the superior clergy, began a general and violent onslaught on our American system of education, which has culminated in the establishment of the parochial school system and the withdrawal of a large number of Catholic youths from our State schools.

It requires no great amount of knowledge or insight to understand the true inwardness of this opposition of the Roman Catholic priesthood to our American system of popular education. Catholicism in this country, says a recent writer, depends for its life or progress upon two conditions. First, a large and continuous importation of foreign born Catholics; secondly, home production by educating the children of Catholics into the faith of their parents. Take away either of these sources of supply and the church would die, for the conversion of Protestants is not at all large, and does not begin to make up for the thousands who are annually lost to Rome or relapse into indifferentism. Now, it is a well known fact that the Catholic immigration, on which the American Catholic church has heretofore chiefly depended, is falling behind the Protestant immigration, and will decrease still more with the attainment of local self government by the Irish people and the pacification of that unhappy land. At present more Protestants than Catholics emigrate to the United States, and with quite as large a progeny. The result is very threatening to the future of the Roman Catholic church in this country, and explains the alarm felt by the Roman Catholic clergy at the prospective loss of their influence. Their only hope is to so mass, concentrate and control their forces as to atone by a thorough organization of obedient and willing adherents for whatever numerical losses they may experience. To do this, to retain their influence over the new generations of native born Catholics, it is necessary that the education of Catholic youth be completely under the supervision, and control of their ecclesiastical superiors. Already there are symptoms of impatience and rebellion against the rule of the priesthood on the part of American Catholics. The defiance

of Father McGlynn and his followers is not the only instance of this growing restlessness. The overwhelming Protestant majority in this country, the free atmosphere of republican institutions, the general diffusion of knowledge and enlightened principles by a free press, and by free schools, encourage the sentiments of independent thought and individual liberty, which are so dangerous to Catholic principles in church and State.

THEORETICAL DIFFERENCES.

It is these temporal and ecclesiastical aims quite as much as any religious scruples which we must believe are the motives that underlie this organized movement against our public school system. I do not, however, deny that there exists a fundamental moral distinction between the educational principles of Rome and those of the American state. As the Theocratic or Roman Catholic doctrine declares the supremacy of the church to the State, so the church also declares itself entitled by divine right to supervise the schools of the land. The Papal encyclical and syllabus of Pope Pius IX expressly declares that the government of the public schools of a Christian State cannot belong and ought not to belong to the civil authority. This doctrine has been reaffirmed over and over again by the theologians and ecclesiastics of the Roman Church. "The State has no right to educate," says Bishop McQuade of Rochester, "and when the State undertakes the work of education it is usurping the powers of the church." "There is no State that has ever received the commission to educate," says Rev. F. T. McCarthy, S. J. of Boston, (December 22, 1887). "God never gave a commission to the State to educate. The function of the State we regard to protect the citizen in natural and acquired rights, and to further and to promote the temporal welfare of the citizen."

To this assertion of Roman Catholic prelates the American State calmly and firmly opposes its inherent and fundamental doctrine of the right and duty of the republic to educate its future citizens. The American doctrine is that the State is a living organism, independent and complete in itself, with the same divine right as the church, and that its duty is to take all proper means to preserve and perpetuate itself. In the published writings of eminent Americans like Edward Everett and Horace Mann, as well as many more recent authorities, this right and duty of the State to educate is elaborately and eloquently maintained. The necessity of education to the maintenance of our free institutions must be apparent to all without further comment. The argument for State instruction is equally simple and conclusive. The children in a community are to become voters, town, city and State magistrates, jurymen, merchants, traders and mechanics, charged with a large variety of civil duties and responsibilities. They vote away other people's money; they commit the country to functionaries and legislatures of their own choice, they shape its policy and decide its destinies; they may themselves become burdens or blessings to the community. The State therefore with an eye to its security must insist that these

embryo citizens shall enjoy the means of this preliminary training and become fitted for citizenship. The State as "a government of the people, by the people and for the people" has a right to decide for itself what are the indispensable elements of this required education, and to organize, maintain and supervise the agencies for securing it. The State cannot delegate this duty to any other agency especially not to one, which, like the Roman Catholic church, is hostile to its political principles, and claims an exclusive and even superior right to the State. In this country the voice of the people has decided overwhelmingly in favor of free government schools supported by general taxation, and they are not only an organic part of our civil policy, but justly accounted one of the corner stones of American liberty and civilization.

This system Rome denounces and declares that her own superior system must take its place. What is her system? Its fundamental principle is that the education of the child belongs to the parent, not the State, and that the parent must, under threats of the terrors and disabilities at the command of Rome place the intellectual and spiritual training of his child in the hands of the clergy. This it justifies on the ground that religious and intellectual training should be carried on together, in the same place and by the same teachers, under the supervision of the priesthood.

Thus the two ideas of education stand sharply contrasted. The State maintains that it is of supreme interest to rear intelligent and virtuous citizens devoted to its welfare, and therefore claims the right to educate and train these future citizens after what it deems the best and wisest methods, and cannot delegate this work to other and less trustworthy hands. The Church claims the right to educate children in its interest, and says its right is paramount, that the State must yield to it. It holds with Bishop Gilmour that the children must learn that they are "Catholics first, and citizens next," and that the religious dominates every other interest. The State concedes to the Church the right to educate religiously as it chooses, and does not attempt to interfere with this religious teaching. But this does not satisfy the Church, which demands not only the control of religious but of *all* education.

I only voice the prevailing sentiment in American breasts when I affirm that the American State will never grant this demand to the Roman Catholic or any other church, but will guard the secular free school as the apple of its eye, as a fundamental condition of its own safety and perpetuity.

CATHOLIC DENUNCIATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

There is no desire, however, on the part of the State to abridge the educational and parental rights of our Catholic fellow citizens. If the latter believe the salvation of their children imperilled by their attendance on the public and secular schools of the land, they have an undoubted right to establish and send their little ones to private and parochial schools which shall educate in their sense. Much as this step is to be regretted by all lovers of truth and sincere

patriots, it is not to be gainsaid. But they have no right, legal or moral, to demand that the State officially recognize and support such private and denominational schools. And furthermore, they are not justified by any code of ethics, religious or secular, in traducing and vilifying our American system of education because it is not to their taste or refuses to become subservient to their purposes. The intemperate utterances of the Catholic clergy and press in regard to our public schools are entirely indefensible, are indecent and misleading. Thus Archbishop Hughes of New York, one of the most eminent prelates of that church, declared in a public lecture: "The public school is a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth century. I hope to see the day when New York will look back upon it with shame and horror that such a gross and miserable delusion could ever have been suffered to take possession of the public mind." "The alarming increase of crime, the burglars, the robbers, the incendiaries, the murderous assassins, garroters and rioters who infest our streets and alleys, rendering property and person alike insecure, and threatening to deluge our streets with blood, and convert our boasted civilization into the most fearful anarchy, are but the matured graduates of the public schools, the representatives of its morality, the finished specimens of its powers." In a similar strain Archbishop Seghers of Oregon, in a lecture on the "Secular School System," denounces it a grossly and monstrously immoral, a blot, a blemish, a disgrace to the country, a living scandal and an approbrium which covers its promoters with shame and infamy," and the Oregon Church Council of 1881 enjoins all parents to preserve their little ones from the "poisoned atmosphere of these Godless institutions." I am glad to observe that our East Oakland father is less vituperative in his published utterances. Yet even he calls the present system of education in this country "a mighty, monstrous, insatiable Moloch, to which the spiritual existence of millions of our little ones is being constantly sacrificed."

Such violent and spiteful attacks are not only unjust and unwarranted in themselves, but are an affront to American institutions. They move us to righteous resentment, yet they fill us with disgust and sorrow rather than wrath, for we know right well the clerical animus which gives birth to them. It is only another display of the old time hostility of a hierarchial church to the secular state, of the theocracy of Rome to the interests of free thought, modern science and the growing enlightenment of our time. Lastly we know, too, that these utterances do not represent the prevailing sentiment of the Catholicity, who are in general disposed to be just and grateful toward our public schools. If allowed to choose for themselves they would continue to send their children to them rather to inferior and costly parochial schools. This is not only a matter of common observation with us but is further testified to by the fact that after all the agitation maintained by the priesthood for nearly half a century past, and the threats and compulsion so freely directed against Catholic parents, barely one-third of the Catholic youth of this country are to be found in

church schools to-day. It is the very opposition of the Catholic laity which embitters and angers the clergy and leads to these savage and intolerant attacks upon the public school system by ecclesiastical hot-spurs. Such attacks may fire the hearts of the more ignorant and prejudiced of the followers of Rome in this country; but they would fail to convince or move the more intelligent and loyal Catholics among us, were they not accompanied by arguments and pleas which are specious and fallacious enough when you come to examine them more closely, but which have an air of plausibility for those who do not think deeper or are blinded by sectarian feeling.

FATHER GLEESON'S ARGUMENTS EXAMINED.

These arguments are well summed up by Rev. Father Gleeson at the conclusion of his recent sermon at the dedication of St. Mary's College in this city, and I will close this discourse by considering them in turn, leaving it to my final sermon, next Sunday, to treat more in detail some of the illustrations and proofs by which he sought to establish his positions.

Said Father Gleeson: "In fine, then, we Catholics call for a reformation of the public school system of education, because it is dangerous to the well-being of the community, because it is the parent of infidelity, an abridgement of our constitutional rights and destructive of parental authority."

Let us consider these four points, and first the charge that the public school is (morally) dangerous to the well-being of the community. This objection Father Gleeson further elucidates as follows: "There are two contradictory opinions entertained by the people of this country on this subject of education. The one advocates and insists on the exclusion of all ethical principles from the schoolroom, while the other equally strongly calls for and demands their introduction." So says Father Gleeson, but I do not hesitate to pronounce his statement that any educators or school authorities among us "advocate and insist on the exclusion of all ethical principles from the schoolroom" as utterly unfounded. I ask him to produce a single reputable witness from among the friends of the public school to sustain him in it. All educators, of whatever shade of opinion, among us "advocate and insist" that ethical principles are and should be an important part of public school education.

Similarly mistaken and mischievous is the arraignment which Father Gleeson in this sermon and in more recent communications to the newspapers makes against the actual moral influences of the American public schools. He cites (see letter to the evening ENQUIRER August 21st) certain statistics proving the alarming increase of crime in Massachusetts between the years 1850-1884, and attributes this to the public schools! But how is it that while the public schools have existed in Massachusetts ever since 1642, there should have been so little crime, comparatively speaking, until the year 1850 was reached, when it began to accelerate at such a frightful rate? I will tell Father Gleeson, what a moment's reflection should have suggested to him—it

was precisely from the year 1850 on that the immigration of foreigners, and especially of Irish Roman Catholics, reached its highest in Massachusetts, and, as observation and statistics abundantly prove, it is from this class of citizens that our almshouses and reformatories and jails have been principally recruited. Nor does it help his "argument" any to call them "native born" criminals, for we know that this term includes the first generation of children of immigrants, which contains a large proportion of the worst specimens of juvenile depravity and mature villainy to be found in the country. I can afford to make, and Father Gleeson to take this statement with equanimity, for I am the child of German, and he, if I mistake not, of Irish immigrants. Or if he is not even of American birth, what special call has he to lecture Americans on their civic duties and elucidate to them the political principles of their republic. But so far as the responsibility for public crime is concerned, I will cite the confession made by the Catholic Church council of Baltimore in 1866: "It is a melancholy fact and a very humiliating avowal for us to make that a very large proportion of the idle and vicious youth of our principal cities are the children of Catholic parents," and then it goes on to advise the establishment of protectorates and reformatories.

MORAL TEACHING IN PUBLIC SCHOOL.

Recurring now to the subject of moral teaching in the public schools, let me refer to a recent symposium on this question in the columns of our Unitarian organ, the *Christian Register*, in which a number of the most eminent educators and divines, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, were represented. With the exception of the Catholic writers there was a general consensus of opinion that ethical principles both could be taught and are taught in the public schools. The discussion was ably summed up by that learned scholar and warm friend of the common school system, William T. Harris, L.L. D., whom President Harrison has, with such special fitness, appointed the Commissioner of Education in the United States. Mr. Harris has paid especial attention to this branch of education, and I commend his writings to Father Gleeson and all inquiring citizens. Dr. Harris calls attention to the great difference that exists between instruction in the theory of morals and an inculcation of moral habits. Strictly speaking, the study of moral philosophy is not a moral but an intellectual discipline. One may know the theory of morality, but he is not moral unless he practices moral habits. Therefore, while the theory of morals is an important aid, it is not morality itself. Morality is behavior, and this behavior the public school may and does teach. As unprejudiced observers will admit, it is an admirable agency in securing the actual growth of a spirit of justice and kindness, of good habits and gentle manners in the community.

RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS.

But our Catholic friend is unwilling to admit this, and declares that even if true it is insufficient. He identifies morality with religion—that is, of course, with dogma.

Father Gleeson denies that ethics can be taught without teaching religious dogmas, and holds that religious must therefore be combined with secular instruction in the training of youth. That this is not done in our public schools forms his second indictment against them, as promoters of infidelity. Now as a Christian and a clergyman I am entirely agreed with Father Gleeson on the importance of a moral and religious training for American youths, and that "enlightenment is not of itself sufficient to secure permanency in a nation."

But I desire to make two distinctions, which he does not seem to value at their true worth: First, that while religion is the ultimate ground of morality, and man's ideas of the first principle or God determine all his ideas of the origin and destiny of things, which in turn determine ultimately his conduct of life—nevertheless, religion is not morality. "Religion," as Dr. Harris well says, "involves acts of devotion and sacrifice of a ceremonial character. Morality involves behavior towards others and towards ourselves, and a ceremonial entirely different from that of religion, namely, the conventional ceremonial which we call the code of politeness or manners. The whole of this behavior can be taught and is taught best without bringing it into the same place and time with religious instruction."

For, secondly, the appropriate place and atmosphere for imparting religious instruction is not the schoolroom, which concerns itself chiefly with secular knowledge and man's finite and temporal interests, but the *family* and the *church*. Religious nurture is best imparted in the atmosphere of a Godly home, a pious mother's prayers and instructions, and through the services and sacraments of the church. If more specific religious instruction is desired, it can be gained through institutions like the Sunday school. I know Father Gleeson has a very poor opinion of the Sunday school. He regards it, he says, as "little better than a sham, a delusion and a trickery." It is certainly far from being perfect, but it is a mighty adjunct in imparting a knowledge of religious principles and history to the masses of the people, and many Catholic children throughout the country, whom their own church has not yet been able to provide for, have obtained from it almost all their religious training. Perhaps, however, that is why Father Gleeson does not like it.

For the reasons given the public school should not undertake to do the work of specifically religious education which the family, the church and other agencies are much better able to impart. It should restrict itself to instruction in the current intellectual view of the word and such ethical training as will teach the children to be humane, courteous and just to one another, and to comprehend clearly the rights and duties of citizenship. I shall endeavor to show in a subsequent discourse that the public school reasonably fulfills these requirements. If, as Father Gleeson complains, there is so much irreligion, practical atheism in the land it is evidently because the church is not as efficient as it ought to be, because it inculcates dogma rather than natural piety, and the sacraments rather than the practice of righteousness. It is the squalid, intemperate,

disordered, unbelieving home, and not the tidy, peaceful, well disciplined public school that is the nursery of vice and crime. The church, relieved of the labor of imparting secular knowledge like reading, writing and arithmetic, can and ought to devote all its energies towards reforming these homes, reclaiming the outcast, converting the unbeliever and administering its consolation to the unhappy.

These considerations, and others like them, ought, I think, to convince every unprejudiced mind of the need and worth of the free public school system in America. Surely in a community as diverse in religious belief as ours the unsectarian secular school is a necessity. But if Father Gleeson still presses the importance of teaching religion in the public schools, let me ask him what kind of religion he would have us teach?

Some years ago several prominent Protestant pastors in New York City agreed with certain Jewish rabbis upon a plan of compromise by which the cardinal ideas of religion—God, moral responsibility and immortality—were to be taught in the schools, but without any sectarian allusions. The proposition was an unwise as well as unlawful one, but it was declined by the Catholic clergy, who declared it was not sufficient to meet their requirements. It is evident, therefore, that it is not only religion, but the Roman Catholic religion the priesthood want taught in the schools, and this in a country, eight-ninths of whose inhabitants are Protestants, is, to say the least, a very remote contingency.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

The third article in Father Gleeson's complaint against the public schools is that they abridge the constitutional right of Catholics. By this I presume he refers to the taxation of Catholics to uphold a school system for which many of them have no use. This he claims violates the conscience and unjustly burdens the income of Catholics who may prefer to send their children to a parochial school, and under the present system must pay for that preference.

This plea of "taxation without representation" so generally advanced by Roman Catholics has produced some impression on unthinking or weak-kneed Protestants, but it is in reality one of the most fallacious and paltry of all the objections brought against our American system. To begin with the State does not compel the parent to send his child to the public school. But it compels him to pay his share towards the support of the latter, and this rightly. The very idea of the State and its continued existence involves the right to restrain and lay burdens upon the individual citizen for the general welfare. The city of Oakland for example, proposes soon to levy a large tax upon its citizens for certain public improvements, sewers, parks and the like. The majority of votes will decide whether these improvements shall be made, and it will be the duty of the dissenting minority gracefully to submit. The fact that any citizen does not approve the objects of the levy will not justify him in refusing to pay his quota toward it. He may prefer to drain into a private cesspool, instead of using the new sewer; he may be a non-resident property owner and never enjoy

the projected boulevard or parks, but this will not save him from bearing his share of the public expenditure decreed by the commonwealth. It is in no wise different with the common schools. Established by the overwhelming majority of our citizens they must be supported at the common charge of all. It makes no difference whether you use them or not. You may prefer to send your children to a private or parochial school, you may not have any children to send at all, but you must pay your share of the tax just the same. To rebel against this fundamental and just demand is anarchy. When, therefore, the Catholic asks us to remit his tax, or that the State by giving him his share of the school fund officially recognize and support the Catholic religion, he makes an unlawful demand and infringes on our constitutional rights. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," reads the constitution of the United States. If it is not lawful to tax Americans to support worship in a church, is it any more lawful and right to tax them to support worship in a school? I will not attempt here to show the absurdity and impossibility of frittering away the school fund between the various denominations of the country—some 100 in all, and the discord and irreligion that would result. I content myself with proving its illegality, and since Father Gleeson demands for Catholics their constitutional rights I will refer him to the constitutions of twenty of the American States, including our own, which expressly declare that the appropriation of moneys for the aid of sectarian schools is prohibited. The California constitution is perhaps the most emphatic of all on this point, declaring that neither the State nor any municipality can appropriate money, nor the State or municipal property for any school not under the exclusive control of the State department, and that furthermore no sectarian instruction is to be permitted, directly or indirectly, in any of the State schools. That ought to be conclusive.

PARENTAL AUTHORITY.

The final charge brought against our public schools by Father Gleeson is that they are destructive of parental authority. But I fail to see why they are more so than the parochial schools. The Catholic idea of education is that the father's right over his offspring is absolute.

But we hold that there is a reciprocal right on the part of the child, the right to be properly educated for its future responsibilities in life. Suppose now that a parent neglects this duty, suppose he educates wrongly or imperfectly, suppose he trains the child to be a thief or a counterfeiter, or instills into his mind a hatred of the State, has the civil power no right to interpose and to save that child—to save *itself* from the consequences of such criminal neglect. For the child's sake and for its own sake it must stand in the place of the parent who fails of his duty. If it can prevent the infliction of serious bodily harm to the child can it not prevent the parents harming the child by not educating it, or by educating it falsely? Common sense and common justice declares that it can.

But this solicitude of the Catholic Church for the parental prerogative is nothing but pretence. What it really aims at is to obtain control of the child itself. What does Rome care for the rights of parents where its own interests are involved? What did it care for the agonized prayers of the Jewish parents of the boy Mortara, whom, against the unanimous protests of the finer conscience of Europe, it hid from his own family and had brought up in the principles of the holy Catholic faith? What does the Roman priesthood care for the wishes of the Irish or German parent in America to-day when he desires to retain his child in the public schools, and is threatened with withdrawal of the sacraments, refusal of absolution, and every other terror at the disposal of the clergy, unless he sends his child to the parochial school? It is Rome, not the American state, which interferes with and destroys parental authority.

PARTING COUNSELS.

In concluding, then, this review and comparison of the two methods of education, the Roman Catholic and the American, I desire to commend to you our national system of public schools, and to urge that they be ever maintained on a secular basis. They may be attacked and abused by prelates and politicians, but, after all, it is the weakness of Protestants rather than the violence of Catholics which constitutes their only real danger. They are not perfect in their administration or methods; there is room in them for great improvement. But, as I shall hope to show in my next lecture, they are the noblest system of popular education yet devised by man. Let us be just and kindly towards our Catholic fellow citizens, and always be ready to make any concession to their honest scruples which will not destroy the efficiency of the schools or engender the sacrifice of the American principle itself. Let us be tolerant in spirit, hating bigotry, whether it be displayed by Protestant ministers or Catholic divines. Remembering that two-thirds of the Catholic youth of our country still attend the public schools, let us continue freely to employ Catholics as teachers and members of school boards. Indeed, the question of a man's belief should never be raised in this connection. Competency, character and loyalty to the State are the only qualifications to be required. But let us never yield the unreasonable and unrighteous demands made by Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, who hold the interests of their religion and church above the welfare of the American State. Never to recognize their schools officially as part of our American system; never to divide the school fund with them, and never to remit their just share of the taxes levied for the support of the public schools, must be fundamental principles in this great conflict which ecclesiastical ambition is forcing upon us. And since Father Gleeson quoted as pertinent certain sayings of eminent Americans (not one of which, I may say in passing, had the slightest bearing on the question at issue), I will close this long discourse with the weighty utterance of another great American, which is very much to the point and should be treasured by

every American heart--the words of General U. S. Grant, who said at Des Moines during the Centennial year: "Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated to them shall be applied to the support of any sectarian school. Resolve

that every child in the land may get a common school education unmixed with atheistic, pagan or sectarian teachings. Keep the church and State forever separate." With God's help we will!



DISCOURSE III.

PAROCHIAL AND STATE SCHOOLS CONTRASTED.

Rev. C. W. Wendte's sermon delivered Sunday forenoon, September 1st, was as follows:

"Whosoever shall place a stumbling block in the way of one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea." Matt. 9:42.

In my discourse last Sunday I maintained that the American principle of a separation of church and State logically involved the separation also of the church and the free public schools.

Mindful of the great diversity of religious opinions which characterize a mixed community like ours, and assured that religious culture belongs to another sphere of interests and demands a different method of inculcation, our people have decreed that the schools maintained by the State shall be absolutely secular, and confined to intellectual and moral disciplines. They believe that this is for the best interests of both education and religion. Said the fourth President of the United States, James Madison, who was one of the most prominent and influential of the framers of the American constitution: "Religion is not within the purview of human government. * * * A connection between them is injurious to both. There are causes in the human breast which insure the perpetuity of religion without the aid of law."

THE DEFECTS AND MERITS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Coeval with the colonization of the country, developed and improved with its growth in resources and culture, the public school system has ever been regarded by intelligent and loyal Americans as a necessary condition of the safety and integrity of the republic. It has been endowed by the nation with a munificence unparalleled in the world's history, and has so prospered and increased that to-day 11,805,660 children (United States Report for 1887) are enrolled in it. Together with their teachers they form a mighty host of industrious, eager and peaceful learners, intent on fitting themselves for their future

vocation and civic duties, acquiring virtuous habits and a gentle behavior, and so laying the best foundation for those graces and trusts of the Christian religion which it is the happy privilege of the home and the church to impart to them.

No one claims for this system that it is perfect. It is confessedly lacking in many important features. But take it for all in all—the spirit in which it was conceived, its controlling sentiment, its practical results, its ideal aims and provision for continued improvement—it is the noblest system of popular education ever conceived by man and is destined to exist as long as the republic exists.

The public schools are an integral part of our American social order and deeply endeared to American hearts. We carp at them sometimes; we find fault with this or that feature in their administration. Our so-called upper classes are often disloyal to them and send their children to private or church schools, in many cases without adequate cause. But let any unjust attack be made upon them, let them be denounced and defamed, as they have been recently in this community, and then in the universal outburst of righteous indignation, we realize what a deep hold the public schools have upon our confidence and affection. Whatever defects and shortcomings they may present belong to their practical administration and do not inhere in the principles on which they are founded. We are prompt to condemn and remedy, as we are able, any inadequacies or maladjustments in the course of instruction, poor text books and incompetent teachers, wrongly ventilated and lighted school buildings. The teachers and school authorities themselves are discussing earnestly in their educational journals and conventions the new problems, remedies and improvements which are constantly making their appearance in the educational world—how best to honor the complex nature of the child and do justice both to its understanding and conscience; the relation of our schools to industrial training; the supreme importance of infant and primary education; coercive or compulsory meas-

ures; what higher or professional training the State may justly impart, and what special instruction in the duties of citizenship.

But all the admitted deficiencies of the public schools are of small importance compared with the manifold and great merits of the system as a civilizing and purifying agency in American life. Contrast, for instance, with the millions of children who in foreign lands and under other systems are growing up in that ignorance which is the parent of vice, the educational records of a State like Massachusetts, in which 86 per cent of all children between the ages of five and fifteen are in daily school attendance, and where only seven-tenths of one per cent of the native white population is illiterate, and where even the illiteracy of foreign-born immigrants has been reduced to nineteen and seven-tenths per cent.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AS A MORAL TEACHER.

But our public schools not only develop the understanding and lift the general intelligence in the community to a high level, they are also the great moralizers of American society. I am aware that this is denied by the advocates of church schools, who declare that the State has no communion and no competency to instruct in ethical concerns. But the American State has just as divine an origin and right as the Roman Catholic or any other church. It is based on the same moral maxims and is pervaded by the same religious spirit which animates the churches of the land. Because of its moral enlightenment the American State abolished slavery in this country (notwithstanding the churches, the Roman Catholic among the rest, were either silent or hostile to that great reform). To-day, as ever, the State jealously guards the moral interests of the people; it upholds the right of free speech and a free ballot, preserves domestic order and tranquility, promotes temperance, suppresses polygamy and other social evils, relieves poverty, reforms the criminal, and pensions the soldier's widow and orphans. Indeed all the great national questions it is called upon to settle, such as the tariff, civil service, prohibition, equal suffrage, are at bottom moral questions. Surely if the State can safely be trusted to deal with these great issues, and sooner or later dispose of them in the spirit of the sermon on the Mount, it can with equal safety be charged with the moral education of American youth. As Dr. A. D. Mayo said not long since in Boston, "Nowhere is the American State able to realize its best conception of this common morality as in the people's common school. Multitudes of weak foolish and wicked parents gladly send their children to a school which shames their own family life at every point. But on that platform and watch the going on of the life of those fifty children, representing a score of families of every station and degree of culture in manners and morals. How much broader is the beautiful spirit of charity in which that little community moves than the sphere of any church." A few days since I visited one of the public schools in this city. I walked through its ample corridors and sunny rooms. I beheld the children, neatly if plainly dressed, intent on their

studies. I heard the peaceful hum of industry and content; the pupils happy at their tasks or in their play. The teacher's voice rose gently on the air to instruct or to admonish. And once more, and more forcibly than ever, I realized what a blessing in the moral life of the community is the public school.

In bad neighborhoods the public school house is an oasis of beauty, a bit of heaven let down into hell to shame and convert it. The reckless impeachment of our public schools by the clergy—some Protestants among them, alas!—as "immoral" and "Godless," is profoundly unjust, and can only be explained by that mischievous clerical habit of repudiating religion and morality everywhere outside of church limits.

Therefore, I repeat it, in the common schools moral training is not passed over lightly. It is everywhere recognized as one of its most essential aims. Their discipline teaches the pupils continually to suppress mere self-will and inclination and behave with self-control and regard for other's welfare, which is the first step in moral culture. Not only by precept, example and appeal, but still more potently by the prevailing atmosphere of the school, by the obedience, order, punctuality, neatness, industry, patience, justice and gentle manners which the relation of the pupils with their teachers and with each other involves, all these are potent educators in the disposition and art of virtue. And to these is superadded the personal example of the teacher, the best of all lessons because a living one.

The charge that the public schools are irreligious is equally untrue. Faith in God as the external and absolute source of all life and truth is not indeed inculcated as a dogma or made the subject of theological homilies. But it is everywhere assumed as the basis of science and the authority of virtue. The God idea pervades every text book and quickens every pulse of school life. The best way for a child to acquire a moral training is not to study the theory of ethics and the sources of moral authority, but to practice moral habits. The public school does not confine its moral impression to one division of the school programme, or restrict it to one class or prescribed hour; neither does it press it into dead formulas and solemn maxims, as is done in church schools where the catechism is the main instrument of moral instruction. "The child should drink in morality as he inspires air, without noticing it, and yet living by it. It should enter into all the exercises of the school and all the work of the class—everywhere present, and yet without making its presence remarked." This is the ideal of the public school as regards morality. It does not seek to take the place of the family or church but to lay the broad foundations for these in their work of spiritual culture. If the school contributes good behavior and a knowledge of letters and science, and aakens their sense of patriotic duty, it has done its share, and may leave the rest to other great agencies for human culture. It is my claim, and I believe I am warranted in the statement, that the public schools of America reasonably fulfil these requirements.

ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION REVIEWED.

Now it is this system of popular education, so wide spread and beneficent, which the American State is asked to surrender, and to adopt instead the system of parochial education. In considering this demand it will be in order for us to ask what this ecclesiastical system of education has ever done at home or abroad that its advocates should so loudly proclaim its superiority to our American system. It is instructive in this connection to compare countries in which the Roman Catholic clergy have for hundreds of years had the monopoly of popular education with those in which the State has supervised the schools. Compare, for instance, Catholic Italy in 1876 with its 4,527,582 children of school age and only 1,931,617 enrolled in the schools, with Prussia, which in 1871 had a school population of 4,396,738, of which 4,007,776 were at school. Take again Catholic Spain with priests in charge of its education and with 2,603,265 school population and only 1,410,476 in its schools, with intensely Protestant Sweden, in which only one inhabitant in one thousand is unable to read and write. These statistics were collated by the United States Bureau of Education in 1881.

But perhaps it may be objected that the statistics concerning Italy are not in point, as since 1861 the government has assumed charge of the schools. This is true, and as a result of this State control illiteracy has decreased from 89 to 72 per cent of the population. Education and morals were never so low in Italy as during the Pontifical and churchly rule. A special report on Education at Home and Abroad, made to the Legislature of New York in 1867 by Victor M. Rice, informs us that prior to 1861 education in the former kingdom of the Two Sicilies was in a most deplorable condition. The new government reported that there were 3094 large parishes which had no schools whatever, and 920 others, in which the instructors were individuals devoid of simple elementary knowledge. The instruction was entirely in the hands of the Jesuits, and monastic orders supplied the teachers. Yet at this time there were over half a million Roman Catholic clergy in Italy or one to every forty of the population. Emil de Laveleye, the eminent economist, in his book, "L'Instruction du Peuple," affirms that in Spain in 1860, out of 15,673,070 inhabitants 11,837,391 could neither read nor write. The statistics of illiteracy gathered by Kiddle & Schem's Cyclopaedia of Education may be considered as approximately correct, and show that the percentage of illiterates in 1877 in Ireland was 46 in 100; in Scotland 16 in 100; in Catholic Belgium 30 per cent, and in Protestant Holland 16 per cent, in Austria, under priestly education 49 per cent, and in the United States, notwithstanding its large foreign immigration, 20 per cent. In Mexico 93 per cent were illiterate, and 83 in the Argentine Republic, while in Japan, a heathen nation, only 10 per cent were unable to read or write. The statistics of vice and crime are equally unfortunate for the claim of the superiority of clerical education. The average committal for murder in Protestant England is four to one million of population. In Catholic Ireland it was nineteen, but has risen much

higher since Home Rule agitation begun. In Austria there were thirty-six murders committed to each million inhabitants, in the papal states one hundred and thirteen, and in Naples, under pious King "Bomba," one hundred and seventy-four. This leads me to point to the frequent assertion of travelers and historians that Rome under the temporal sway of the popes was the most corrupt state in Europe. As La Mennais, himself a Catholic, wrote, it possessed all the vices and none of the redeeming features of modern civilization. I might go on and cite similar European statistics, particularly as regards illegitimate children, which discountenance the Catholic claim to educate morally. But our own country is the sufficient witness to this. What have the Catholic elements who first settled certain districts of the American continent contributed to the cause of public morals? Compare the dense ignorance and low moral condition of Peru and Mexico, which the Spaniards colonized at the height of their national greatness, with the United States, the home of enlightenment and civic virtue. Compare Catholic New Mexico, with its densely ignorant and illiterate population, bitterly opposing our free public schools, and hostile to the higher interests of our American nationality, with the enlightenment and patriotism of the new States of Dakota and Washington. Father Gleeson, in a recent letter, reaffirms the moral superiority of Catholic races. But the facts disprove it. He justly points out the high sexual morality of that gifted but unfortunate nation the Irish. But he omits to state that they are also sadly intemperate, much given to drink, quarrelsome, and prone to deeds of violence against person and property. It is the Catholic priest who has the largest constituency in our prisons, and who is most often summoned to the foot of the scaffold. It is very distasteful for me to say this, but Father Gleeson presses the issue upon me. My remarks last Sunday on the foreign elements among us have been questioned, but I believe them to have been substantially correct. I have no sympathy with a rabid Americanism, but the facts are self-evident. Captain L. Brockway, the eminent penologist, now in charge of the model reformatory at Elmira, N. Y., in an essay read before the Prison Reform Congress at Cincinnati in 1870, says that an examination of fifteen American prisons develops the fact that seventy-six per cent of their inmates were either foreign born or children of foreign born parents. Not all the criminals, of course, were Catholics, but those of Catholic faith largely predominated, and received their training, so far as they ever had any, under that Roman system of parochial education which it is asserted ought to supplant our public schools. (See Rev. T. B. Forbush's reply to Bishop Gilmour.)

In view of all these facts are we justified in abandoning our public school system and committing the education of American children into the hands of the Roman or any other clergy? Every sensible man or woman, every lover of his country, every friend of enlightenment and virtue will answer no. We are not willing to exchange our American school system for one which Europe is everywhere rejecting as inad-

quate and outworn. We refuse to surrender the education of our future citizens to an order of men whom history has judged to be incompetent and unworthy educators of youth.

THE STATE AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

But perhaps it will be objected that the Catholic has no intention to disrupt our national schools, he only insists on his right to educate his own children in accordance with Catholic ideas of religion and morals. Father Gleeson grows alternately indignant and pathetic over our assumed denial of this right. But no one, except a few fanatics, deny the Catholic his right to establish and send his children to parochial schools in which the Catholic religion shall be taught. *But we do deny the right of the State to help him do it.* It is not the province of the State to make good Catholics. That would be "an establishment of religion," which our national and state constitutions prohibit. The Catholic has no right to demand that the State levy a tax on the Protestants of this country to support a school which teaches religious doctrines they believe to be mistaken and pernicious.

Observe, however, that this recognition of the right of Catholics to establish and pay for their own private schools does not negative the right of the State to regulate them. The Catholic as well as Protestant nations of Europe and South America, have almost without exception had to interfere at one time or another with the temporal arrangements of the clergy, especially in matters of education. If the American state ever has reason to believe that sentiments hostile to American nationality are being inculcated in the parochial schools, or that they are depriving its future citizens by inferior instruction of that intelligence, self-dependence, and knowledge of civic duties on which the welfare of the State depends, it will have the undoubted right to interfere with and regulate those schools. It may or it may not officially supervise them, but it may certainly set up a standard of educational requirements in its public schools, and demand that all private and parochial schools shall come up to that standard. This it will do for its own sake and for the children's sake. The American people are a patient, tolerant, long-suffering people, but they know their rights and the principles of their government, and sooner or later they always maintain and enforce them. If there is any one doctrine more endeared to them than another it is that the law of the State is the supreme power in the land and must receive the highest allegiance of the citizen. "What," demurs that amiable and worthy pastor, Father King, in a recent discourse, "the State higher than God! Surely we must pay our first duty to Him." And Father McNally calls attention to the motto of the Catholic Young Men's Institute: "For God and Country." No Protestant denies the supremacy of God over all. It is the first article of our creed. But we do deny the claim of the Roman Catholic church to be the only and infallible representative of God on earth, whose dictum on questions of faith and morals on church administration and education must be accepted by all men as ab-

solute and final. That is the real point at issue, and it is this unreasonable and unhistoric claim of the Roman church to equal if not superior right in human society which the modern State antagonizes and will in the course of time utterly destroy.

The American people will be found in the future as in the past ready to vindicate this basic principle of civil supremacy against any despotism, ecclesiastical or secular.

Some years ago in Cincinnati Archbishop Purcell arrayed in full canonicals rode in state surrounded by his mounted escort of Catholic Knights with drawn swords and followed by a large procession of the faithful, through the crowded streets of the city. It was, if I remember rightly, his jubilee as a priest, and a gala day in Catholic circles. Before him they carried a standard from which were suspended the banner of Pontifical Rome and the American flag. But the stars and stripes were hung below the emblems of the church. This gave rise to increasing murmurs among the spectators until presently a number of patriotic citizens rushed from the sidewalk, arrested the procession, compelled the standard-bearers to reverse the order of the flags, putting the stars and stripes overhead, and then allowed the pageant to move on.

That patriotic deed symbolized the spirit in which the American people will ever deal with the enemies of our national life. They will "stop the procession," and not allow it to continue until it has first purified itself of every suspicion of hostility to American ideas and institutions.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND PATRIOTISM.

Are the parochial schools in the United States, as now conducted, hostile to the interests of our American nationality? In some respects they are and in others they are not. So far as inculcation of patriotism in general is concerned, no just charge of disloyalty can be brought against them. I have spent some time during the past few weeks in reading Catholic school books and inquiring as to the teachings imparted in the church schools. These books are full of love and country and the American State. They resound with the sentiment of political and civic liberty.

But indirectly and by their very institution they are inimical to the welfare of the State. The State school stands as the visible symbol and representative of the authority and beneficence of the commonwealth. We have none too many of such reminders among us of the majesty and paternal interest of the government. The tendency of the parochial school with ecclesiastical teachers is to impress the child with the superior authority of the church, and to reduce the State in its estimation, politically as well as ecclesiastically, to a province of Rome.

Again the system saps the foundations of a true democracy. "The common school," says one, "is the great assimilating organ of the body politic. The children go into it English, Irish, Scotch, German, French, Italian, Scandinavian. They come out Americans, with one common tradition and many common associations," and Rev. M. J. Savage said recently in a similar strain: "I like to see my boy go to a school in which all religions, all nationalities, all

grades of culture and no culture, all grades of character and no character, all grades of cleanliness and no cleanliness, all grades of good clothes and bad clothes are represented. I like to have him in the midst of a little world." Since Father Gleeson quotes the eminent French Protestant Quizot in behalf of his position, I will also quote him in support of mine: "It is in general desirable that the children whose families do not profess the same creed should early contract by frequenting the same schools, those habits of reciprocal friendship and natural tolerance which may ripen later, when they are grown up citizens, into justice and harmony."

Now it is this beneficent arrangement of our public schools which the parochial school interrupts and destroys. It separates and isolates Catholic youth from the other children of the land, intensifies in them the narrow selfishness of race and sect, and encourages the un-American spirit of intolerance towards other modes of belief. This spirit is further stimulated by the sectarian, polemical tone of the text books in use in the Catholic schools, a primary object in which is to make them serve the purposes of theological and sectarian controversy. I was not at all surprised to learn from a friend who for thirty years has been principal of a Boston grammar school that on the way home from the parochial school the Catholic children will stop before his building and shout into the open windows opprobrious epithets against "the bloody Protestants!"

And it is this spirit of ecclesiastical bigotry and rancor which we are asked to encourage by adopting the parochial school system in exchange, or as a part of our own! Let us heed rather the warning voice of the French statesman Gambetta, whose principles are now ascendant in our sister republic beyond the seas, and who told his countrymen in his great speech on educational reform (1871), that "all class distinctions" should be abolished, and "absolutely gratuitous, obligatory, lay instruction" be enforced. "Let religious education," he said, "whether Catholic, Jewish or Protestant, be given in religious temples, according to the choice of parents; but let not the Catholics, with their claims to exclusiveness, have anything to do with that propagation or necessary knowledge which it is the State's duty to see imparted to every citizen."

DO THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS EDUCATE?

Whether the parochial schools are competent to educate or not is a question within the province of our discussion. To begin with, our review of Catholic education abroad shows that they have no desire to do this, and only follow the lead of modern and Protestant States because they are compelled to. The denser the ignorance of the Catholic masses the more assured the rule of their clergy, so that if there were no public schools in this country there would be few parochial schools, and Catholic children for all the priests would do for them would grow up in ignorance. The actual instruction imparted by the parochial schools is decidedly inferior to that of our public schools. The teachers are recruited principally from the minor

clergy and lay sisterhoods, and but few of them could pass the examinations required by the State for its own teachers. There is no uniform or adequate system of training for their teachers, and many of them are mere makeshifts taken from the various monastic orders to fill a need, and with little capacity or preparation for their task. The text books also are, as a whole, inferior to those in use in the State schools. One reason of this is that everything in them is subordinated to the religious and dogmatic interest. The main thing in the course of instruction seems to be to familiarize the children with the catechism. The little Catholics in Oakland are crammed with Delharbe's (S. J.) shorter catechism, the larger children with his full catechism, of 327 pages. Besides this there is in use in our Catholic schools and seminaries a work of 380 pages on the Evidences of Religion, by Jesuit Father Jouin, and a History of the Church of God, of 716 pages by Rev. B. J. Spaulding. As if this were not enough a considerable portion of the school hours is devoted to liturgical acts, and the reading books are largely made up of monkish legends, invocations of the saints and guardian angels, Hail Marys and theological selections. Here is the young Catholic's fifth reader of a series which is used in the Oakland schools. It boasts of being "thoroughly Catholic in tone." No doubt about that. From the first story on "Bessie's First Mass," to the pieces on "How to be a Nun," "Saint Bridget," and "Saint Patrick Penny," the "thoroughly Catholic tone" never fails. The third reader of the same series closes with a charming story "Maggie's Rosary," which relates how Maggie recounted to a little Protestant girl of her acquaintance the mystical significance of the Rosary, and with such effect that she converted her and the little Protestant became "a sweet little nun." Sadlier's Excelsior Geography, also used in the Oakland parochial schools, has for its leading illustration a representation of the earth's surface, in which a Roman Catholic church and school house occupy one-half of the picture. The earth is mercifully allotted the other half. This picture is emblematic of the space given in parochial schools to religious dogmas and history. The secular knowledge imparted is of course much restricted because of this. Catholic children who have been taken out of the public schools at the bidding of the priest and compelled to attend parochial schools, when they are returned after an absence of a year or two, to the public schools, which is a matter of very common occurrence are almost invariably found to be in their studies far behind their former classmates who have remained in the public schools. They have lost a whole year in their education. And what have they gained? The ability to rattle off their catechism, and possibly to hate it. Have they gained anything morally? It does not so appear. The moral atmosphere of the parochial school has not been shown to be superior to that of the public schools, and from the nature of the case we should suppose it to be worse. The discipline certainly is inferior, and it is not unusual for the larger Catholic boys to be returned to the public schools on the plea that the Sisters are not able to manage them.

Father McGlynn recently stated in Boston that a bishop, full of zeal for his church, acknowledged to him, "It is really very sad, very strange that these young people of ours, educated in the parochial schools are no good." They go out poorly equipped for the battle with the world and realizing this are led to distrust and hate the church which made such a failure of their education. Merchants in San Francisco have told me the same thing, and that Catholic youths whom they sought to employ were poorly and superficially educated and lacked in intelligence and capacity as compared with the graduates of the public schools.

It is no wonder that the great mass of Catholic laity, recognizing the inferiority of the parochial schools, are exceedingly unwilling to send their children to them, and only do so under the threat and spur of the clergy. A number of instances of this kind have come to my knowledge. I know of one Catholic father who has been moving into various wards all over Oakland to escape the dreaded necessity of keeping his children at a parish school. In another instance nearly a score of children were withdrawn from a public school in this city at the command of the priest, amid the loud lamentations of both parents and children. In less than a year, however, they were all brought back again, happy and grateful to return. The costliness of the system, with its monthly tuition fee and expensive text books is doubtless one cause of this dissatisfaction. But the deeper reason is the inferiority of these schools as educators and the manifest superiority of the State schools.

HISTORICAL TEACHING.

If there is any one department in which this inferiority is displayed more than in another it is in the teaching of history. The Catholic text books on this subject are open to the gravest censure for suppressing and distorting the truth. I shall not enter here into the much mooted question of indulgences, and what is the proper instruction about them. I am willing to go as far as any one ought to go to show respect for the conscientious scruples of my Catholic fellow citizens, and to insist that the teaching in our public schools shall do them no injustice and cause them no unnecessary pain. But charity is one thing and the truth of history is another. We ought not to suppress or distort assured facts in regard to an important historical event simply to spare the feelings of any one. The most we can do in a disputed case is to give both sides of the story to the pupil, and let his own reason and conscience ultimately decide. Surely the errors and crimes on both sides of the religious world, Protestant and Catholic, were frequent and great enough to enable both to deal charitably with each other and with these defects of a past order of civilization. I believe that this is in general the spirit in which history is taught in our schools. But the Catholic clergy are not satisfied with this. They demand that the facts of history shall be so manipulated as in every case to sustain and justify their church. I have been pursuing a course of reading in Catholic school histories during the past few weeks. Never before have I realized how historic truth may

be perverted by unscrupulous writers. These books, with some noble exceptions, "carry falsification to the perfection of an art, and misrepresentation to the dignity of a science." Take "Kerney's Compendium of Ancient and Modern History" for instance, a work used in the parochial schools of Oakland. In the body of the work five lines are devoted to the Protestant Reformation and seven pages to Mary, Queen of Scots. In a subsequent chapter, however, on "The Church," a scant four pages is given to the Reformation. Every vice and crime in a Catholic ruler is condoned or passed over in silence, but the Protestant leaders are mercilessly condemned. Thus we learn that splendid Queen Elizabeth was "despotic, jealous, cruel and revengeful," and "in her conversation often grossly profane." She was "a shameless woman, the mere sport of vice, vanity and passions. But that human monster, the Catholic King, Philip III of Spain, is dismissed with a line, and the vicious lives of Louis XIV and XV, those "defenders of the faith," are not so much as mentioned. We ask, Is this history? But the worst offender in this respect is the Rev. B. J. Spaulding's "History of the Church of God," which is a thoroughly misleading and bad book, distorting or suppressing facts, drawing false inferences, and throughout having but one purpose, to glorify the Catholic Church at whatever sacrifice of truth. It is only necessary to read the chapters on the Inquisition, pp. 460-471, and the Reformation, pp. 502-549, to assure oneself of this. Of Martin Luther we are told, "He was at best a popular demagogue, who appealed to every passion regardless of decency, truth or morality." * * His personal vices were his own, and the knowledge of them is neither desirable nor elevating to the mind or heart." And this of Martin Luther, whose intellectual and moral greatness Catholic as well as Protestant writers have nobly testified to!

Surely no text books in use in Protestant or in State schools so grossly calumniate Catholic worthies and misstate the truth of history. An instructive testimony to what the Catholic clergy understand by historical instruction is afforded by Father Gleeson in his recent discourse. I cannot enter into a detailed examination of his large claims for his church, nor treat seriously his assertion that the Catholic Church is "the author of civil liberty," which she has done more to suppress than any other agency in history. But look at one or two of his illustrations. "Was it not," he asks, "by a Catholic people led by an illustrious Catholic Archbishop that they (civil liberties) were restored to their place in the government of the nation on the ever memorable and historic plains of Runnymede." This is a fair specimen of the way in which Catholicism seeks to pervert history in her own interest. What are the real facts about the granting of Magna Charta? History records that while Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, did join with the Barons in extorting the bill of rights from King John, the Barons were not in the Roman interest: they were indignant with John for his humiliating subserviency to the Pope. And when the Pope, Innocent III, learned that the great charter had been conceded, his wrath

knew no bounds. He removed the Archbishop from office, denounced the charter as base and ignominious and declared it null and void and anathematized the King if he observed it. That is the way Catholicism favored Magna Charta and procured for us our civil liberties. Again, Father Gleeson asks why Catholic youth are not told in our schools that "the greatest names on the roll of science, the Descartes, the Bacons, the Albertuses, the Magnuses, the Gerberts, the Brabes, the Copernicuses and a host of others hardly less celebrated, were all Catholics." The answer is obvious, that it is as men of science that they were celebrated in history, and not for their theological principles, especially in an age when the Catholic was the universal faith and allowed no other. But if any allusion is to be made to the connection of these men with the church of Rome, let the whole truth be told about it. Let the Catholic youth learn that, while Copernicus was a Roman priest and dedicated his great work on the solar system to the then reigning Pope, Paul III, in return for his discoveries and his courtesy, the Pope excommunicated Copernicus and sealed up his book from the eyes of all true believers. Let him learn the story of Galileo's persecution at the hands of the Roman See, of Roger Bacon's ill treatment, and the martyrdom of Giordano Bruno, whose illustrious memory the King and people of Italy have recently vindicated, against the aspersions and inhumanity of the church of his day.

SHALL WE SUPPRESS PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS?

But, enough; I must not weary your patience by any longer refutation of unfounded assertions, or pile up the proofs for what every unprejudiced man or woman of whatever faith knows to be the truth—the inferiority of the parochial to the public schools.

What then? Shall the State declare them a national danger and shut them up altogether? So counsels here and there a voice, but I do not believe it to be a wise or just counsel. First, because it cannot be shown that these schools are intentionally disloyal or hostile to the interests of our American nationality. Second, because as yet they are comparatively unimportant and unimportant in the education of American youth. Only a little over five hundred thousand children attend them, out of a population of at least a million and a half of Catholic youth, while over twelve million children are enrolled in the public schools. Lastly, because patient waiting is sometimes better than violent and premature action in matters of state. Father McGlynn may be presumed to know something of the parochial system, and he tells us in a recent address that while they may continue to multiply for a time their ultimate disappearance is only a question of years. The Catholic laity is fast discovering how poor is the education they impart, and how inferior they are to the public schools of the land. That laity is already converted to the American idea of a separation of church and state, and

will in due time come to believe in the separation of the church and the school.

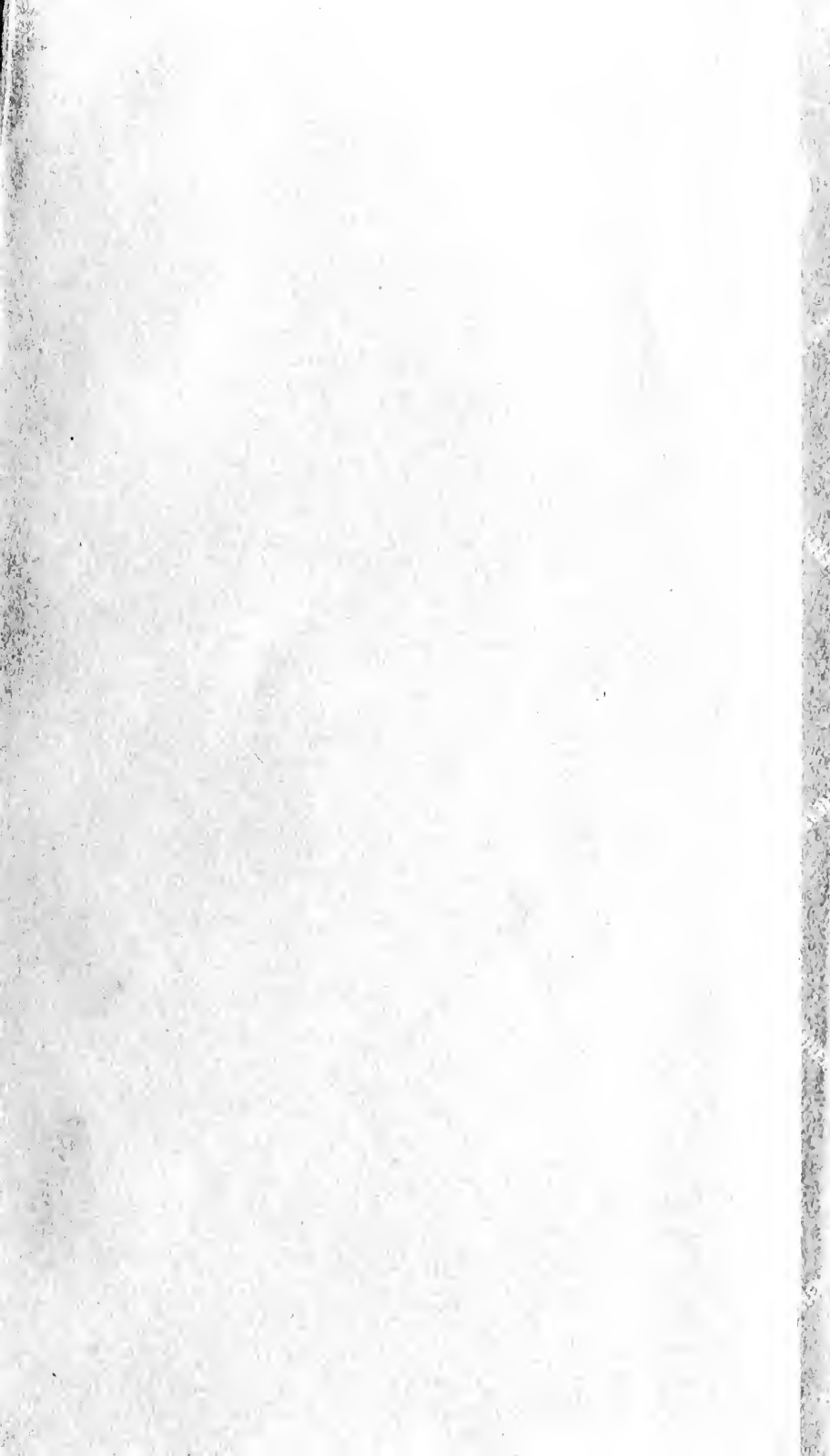
Let the State, therefore, be patient and tolerant, interfere to regulate the parochial schools if necessary, but not unless absolutely necessary, for nothing so promotes a cause, good or bad, as opposition and even the semblance of persecution. Let us improve our public schools. Backed by all the splendid resources of the American State they ought to be unapproachable in excellence by any private system of education.

To Catholics we say: "Go on in your misguided course if you will. Segregate your children, isolate them from the intelligence, culture and gentle manners of other American youth, cram them with catechisms and books of devotion, in place of imparting to them a sound and practical education, and in twenty years you will reap the bitter harvest; your children will be fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, falling behind in the struggle of life, the helpless tools of priests and party leaders."

The Protestants we charge—do not become ill tempered and intolerant in your Americanism. First clear yourselves of any suspicion of sectarian and dogmatic efforts. What is the meaning and the use of these petty denominational schools and colleges that are springing up all over California, when the State with its grammar and high schools, its splendidly equipped university, supplemented with the great unsectarian institutions of learning, which benefactors like Senator Stanford, Dr. Cogswell and James Lick have endowed so munificently, is able to meet the educational needs of our people for a century. Is it to keep American youth away from the light and freedom of unsectarian instruction, of a culture and science and historical teaching unfettered by traditions and creeds and ecclesiasticism? Is it to rear in place of unprejudiced students of the truth, self-reliant, broad and truly Catholic scholars a generation of young Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians or Presbyterians?

There is nothing our institutions have so much to fear as bigotry, whether displayed by Protestant or Catholic. Said Lafayette, who was himself a child of the Roman Church, "If the liberties of the American people are ever destroyed, they will fall by the hands of the Romish clergy." But sometimes when I behold the lukewarm or hostile attitude of Protestant sects and ministers towards State education, that corner stone of our liberties, I am led to fear that the danger lies nearer home. Let us then be vigilant, ever ready to uphold the great principles on which our nation is founded. Let us believe that education and religion, each moving in its own separate orbit, but both shining like twin stars in the darkness of this world, will yet redeem it from ignorance and wrong.

"Nor fear the skeptic's puny hands,
While near the school the church spire stands;
Nor dread the blinded bigot's rule,
While near the church spire stands the school."



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